THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

WOMAN'S COLLEGE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

IS THIS A CONSERVATIVE WAR?

A Radio Discussion by ROBERT TAFT
MAYNARD KRUEGER *and the* ROVING REPORTER

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Around the Round Table . . . .

ROBERT A. TAFT, United States Senator from Ohio, is the son of the twenty-seventh president of the United States, William Howard Taft. Senator Taft received his A.B. and M.A. degrees at Princeton University and his law degree from Harvard University. He was admitted to the Ohio State Bar in 1913 and has practiced law in Cincinnati since that time. Senator Taft has been a prominent Republican party leader. Before going to the United States Senate, he served in both the House of Representatives and State Senate of Ohio.

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER, assistant professor of economics at the University of Chicago, studied both history and international politics before specializing in economics. He completed his undergraduate education at the University of Missouri in 1926. After receiving his A.M. from that institution in 1927, he joined the staff of Albion College as an instructor in history. He spent three years in Europe studying at the universities of Paris, Berlin, and Geneva. From 1928 until he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1932 he taught in the School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to his scholarly activity, politics is a major interest. In 1940 he ran as vice-presidential candidate for the Socialist party and is now national chairman of the Socialist party.

The ROVING REPORTER is an experienced newspaperman and journalist and is a member of the University staff. His role on certain ROUND TABLE programs is to represent not his own views on any matter but the expressions and opinions of the people whom he interviews—government officials, farmers, soldiers, taxi-drivers, and the like. He goes on special assignments to interview these people concerning the topic to be discussed and appears on the ROUND TABLE when a sampling or reporting of public opinion is an especially important part of the program. The Roving Reporter first appeared on the ROUND TABLE on December 17, 1939, in a discussion of "Government and Business" and has appeared since in such discussions where it was important to present the viewpoints of many different people and groups.

IS THIS A CONSERVATIVE WAR?

REPORTER: We find ourselves with the word "conservative" in the title of this program. I don't know how many people know what the word "conservative" means. Do you suppose that you, Krueger, and Senator Taft could give it a meaning?

MR. KRUEGER: I don't think that we'll have any trouble with that. By "conservative war" I mean a war that is fought merely in order to win it, with a moratorium on all major controversial questions.

REPORTER: Where do you stand on that, Senator?

SENATOR TAFT: I agree that a conservative war is one which you fight only to win, but with one addition. After you win it, you want to go on and set up a peace which is likely to discourage aggression in the future as well as now and to insure peace in the future as well as now for the United States.

REPORTER: Then I take it, gentlemen, that a conservative war is one that is fought to preserve something and not to change it. Senator, is this a conservative war?

SENATOR TAFT: Yes, I think that this is a conservative war in that sense. If we include the fact that we're going on to improved conditions in the future, so that our people may be assured peace in the future as well as now.

REPORTER: Krueger, is this a conservative war?

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, I think it's undoubtedly a conservative war.

REPORTER: As the ROUND TABLE's Roving Reporter, I've talked to a great many people all over the eastern part of the country and the Middle West in the last week. I find most of them agreed with you two men that this is a conservative war, but I found considerable disagreement as to whether it should be a conservative war.

Krueger, where do you stand?

MR. KRUEGER: I think that it should not be a conservative war. I don't think it can be won that way, and I don't think the peace that can be built afterward will amount to anything very much, or be much of an improvement on what we've had before, unless we recognize that fundamental change must be made during the war.

REPORTER: And Senator?

SENATOR TAFT: I do think it should be a conservative war. I do not think it ought to be a crusade to propagate the Four Freedoms throughout the world or to accomplish any other purposes than peace for our people.

REPORTER: Among the common people that I interviewed was Wendell Willkie, who told me that a conservative war is impossible to fight, that there are changes taking place in the world (whether or not we want them to), and that unless we control those changes and play a part in them we will not be able to go back to where we started. We will have to go still further back.

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MR. KRUEGER: All I'll say to that, Mr. Reporter, is that the government of the United States is doing a first-class job of trying to handle this war as if it were a conservative war.

REPORTER: That, too, Krueger, was what Samuel Grafton, the columnist, said—that all the leaders in this war are trying to fight a conservative war but that a liberal war was nevertheless interfering with their operations. He said that Roosevelt as well as Churchill as well as Hitler were all trying to fight a conservative war.

SENATOR TAFT: Mr. Reporter, it seems to me that anybody who has the practical problem of running a war is concerned with losing just as few lives as possible and winning the war as rapidly as possible. It's all very well for Mr. Grafton and Mr. Willkie to sit in their ivory towers and develop theories, but every man who really has to run a war wants to run that war as a conservative war.

MR. KRUEGER: Let me give you some of the evidence on why I say that it is a conservative war. If it were not a conservative war, we wouldn't be making the kind of deals we have now made with Spain; the kind of deals we have made with Fascists in North Africa. To look at the record still further, we wouldn't be acting as if wings were sprouting on Mussolini, and we wouldn't be keeping our fingers out of the situation in India, where three hundred and seventy million people or so are demanding freedom.

SENATOR TAFT: Krueger, I disagree entirely. If we can take North Africa by a deal with Darlan and save fifty thousand casualties of American boys, which is the estimate I understand that was made for a direct attack on Dakar without Darlan, I am in favor of doing it. If we can keep Spanish chrome away from Germany by giving Spain gasoline, or any other product, I'm in favor of doing it.

If we're going to, or able to, follow the British lead in India so as to maintain India at peace and carry on a successful war against Burma, I'm in favor of subordinating everything to military considerations.

REPORTER: All right, Krueger, let's you and him fight.

MR. KRUEGER: All I'll say to that is that military expediency was the rule in the last war, and it's been the rule thus far in this war. If we're going to win a war against fascism by getting more Fascists on our side than there are on the other side, it's not going to turn out to be a war against fascism at all. The Senator and I are agreed, I think, that it is not now a war against an ism and that it's primarily a defensive war. But there is one other point I'd like to bring up from the record. If this were not a conservative war, we would not be keeping quiet on the matter of war aims. The United States government does not now have any declared official policy on war aims.

REPORTER: But, Krueger, what about the Four Freedoms, Vice-President Wallace, and the Atlantic Charter? Are they, or aren't they, war aims?

MR. KRUEGER: They are war aims of a personal sort. Mr. Roosevelt makes a fireside chat or meets on a ship somewhere with Mr. Churchill, and a personal statement is issued; but the United States Senate hasn't said anything about it, and it's likely to be the Senate that will knock out any post-war treaty in which any good will be done.

REPORTER: Senator Taft, you're in the United States Senate.

SENATOR TAFT: I believe that we do have very definite war aims. Our aim, first of all, is to win the war. Our aim, secondly, it seems

to me, is obvious—it's to punish the aggressor and to discourage aggression for all time to come. After the war we will work out the most practical solution we can ever find, whatever it may be, to stop aggression in the future.

REPORTER: Gentlemen, I spoke to one of the younger and more beautiful members of the United States Congress, Mrs. Luce of Connecticut, whose complaint is that the terms of these plans for the post-war world are given in great, big, beautiful, impossible unrealities. Mrs. Luce insists that when we are given these glorious and gorgeous Four Freedoms, the magnificent "Century of the Common Man" of Vice-President Wallace, we're being given things that can't be realized and that the result of our inability to realize them will mean that we're going to collapse spiritually altogether.

MR. KRUEGER: I think, Mr. Reporter, that you got a bum steer from the lady. My impression is that down in Washington Mr. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, and a couple of other people, have been assigned the job of doing the dreaming and talking about the future. I think that they're doing some beautiful dreaming. I think that they use some very nice phrases, but I think that they're assigned that special job so that whatever is said about the policy of the post-war world will not get in the way of the businessmen who are actually running the war and will not get in the way of the action of the important governmental agencies that are actually conducting the war.

SENATOR TAFT: Krueger, I don't agree at all on this businessmen-running-the-war business. My experience is that the New Dealers are running the war, with a few exceptions, of course. I admit that there are a few conservative departments, but in general they are people like Mr. Wilson, the new big businessman in the

WPB. His economic adviser is Mordecai Ezekiel. Mr. Nelson himself is there largely because for years he's been willing to surround himself with New Dealers. The War Manpower Commission is run by McNutt and Altmeyer, and, during the war, they've taken the occasion to go far toward nationalization of the unemployment compensation system. Mr. Patterson is a great friend of Mr. Frankfurter, and so is Mr. Stimson, so that many of the appointments in the War Department have been made at Judge Frankfurter's suggestion. The OPA is full of New Dealers. Henderson's boys are in every department.

MR. KRUEGER: It's not as full of New Dealers, Senator, as it was when Henderson was still there. Henderson himself was a New Dealer, yes, with an impossible job; and now it's been turned over to somebody who's far more conservative. The War Department is headed by Mr. Stimson, who is not a New Dealer; and the Navy is headed by Secretary Knox, who is not a New Dealer; and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is headed by Jesse Jones, who is not a New Dealer; and, as you said, Nelson of the WPB is not a New Dealer. Those are the agencies that pack the weight, while Mr. Wallace's Bureau of Economic Warfare and the OPA are very minor warts on the face of the Washington scene compared with the WPB, the War Department, the Navy, and the RFC.

SENATOR TAFT: No, I don't agree; that is a question of difference. I think that the New Dealers are running the war, but I don't think that is a particularly material question myself.

REPORTER: It seems to be important, gentlemen, among a great many of the people that I've interviewed.

I ran into, on the way down to Washington this week, half-a-dozen businessmen—a creamery man from northern Wisconsin, a

manufacturer of shoes from St. Louis, and a California packer—all of whom were going down to Washington to fight for their rights and who complained that the war is being run—lock, stock, and barrel—by a lot of New Deal theorists. As soon as I landed in Washington, I bumped into Senator Bob La Follette, of Wisconsin, who said that conservatism and even reaction were rising in this country and that it was the fault of the Administration, which had turned over the conduct of the war to a lot of businessmen. Since there is this controversy as to the fact, let's look at the record of what the government is actually doing to see, if we can, who's running it.

SENATOR TAFT: Couldn't we agree, after all, on this general principle: If that's conservative, I agree that it's being run conservatively. I think everybody in Washington, in theory at least, is willing to say that we ought to suspend domestic controversy during the war.

Take the question of social security. We have made progress in social security. We can immediately resume it at the end of the war, but there's no reason I can see to invoke a domestic conflict now—a real battle between two different points of view, when we all ought to be paying attention to the war. That's accepted generally on both sides in Washington, so that both New Dealers and conservatives are in the war fight.

MR. KRUEGER: That's why I'm willing to agree that the war is being handled as a conservative war. I think there's a lot of evidence on that. For one thing, the taxation question is being handled pretty much as it was during the last war. We're not paying for any more of the war by taxation than was true of the last war.

REPORTER: I am.

MR. KRUEGER: You are? During the last war we paid for about a third of it by taxation, and that's what we're doing right now—not any more.

We're not handling the Negro question in such a way as to make anybody believe that the Four Freedoms really apply to the United States. We're handling the Japanese-Americans on the West Coast—this is clear in the record—in line with the old conservative, purely nationalistic policy. If one looks at Congress itself on the matter of congressional procedure, in the midst of a revolutionary crisis, Congress hasn't even streamlined its own procedure so as to get rid of that committee-seniority business on committee chairmanship so that it would be more representative of the people.

REPORTER: Senator, I ran into a great many people and especially a great many Negroes, whom I interviewed, who display a great deal of faith in the promise of the Four Freedoms and in Vice-President Wallace's speeches. Oh, I don't suppose that they expect these things to take place a week from Thursday, but it seemed as if, and a great many of them said so, their fervor for this war was tied up with the hope that those freedoms were really our goals.

SENATOR TAFT: I think that on this taxation question the conservatives are in control of the taxation policy. If you can come down and show us a taxation system that will raise twice as much money and won't absolutely disrupt the entire war production organization, our committee will be glad to consider it.

MR. KRUEGER: I'll bring you tomorrow, in Washington, a copy of last Sunday's University of Chicago ROUND TABLE, where exactly that same job was done.[1]

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[1] See A. G. Hart, Neil Jacoby, and Henry Simons, *Bigger and Better Taxes?* a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 259, broadcast March 7, 1943.

But I rather disagree with you on this major point. You seem to be thinking all the way through here that there must be a moratorium on all major controversial questions, internally within the country. I think that that's a good way of not only losing a war but of losing the peace. I don't think that the status quo, things as they were before this war, were good enough to maintain peace, and I don't think that they'll be good enough for the post-war world; and I don't think they're good enough to really mobilize masses of people back of any set of slogans in this war. In other words, I don't think a defensive war is worth anywhere near the effort that goes into it.

SENATOR TAFT: The people today very evidently are opposed to the New Deal, so that if you insist on advancing in this war New Deal ideas, you're going to produce the biggest domestic controversy we've ever seen, and you're going to interfere with war production.

It isn't any conservative war to say that we should postpone these domestic controversies until the war is over. We can't. We are having a greatly increased amount of regulation. I believe that after the war we'll revert very much to the situation as it was before, and we can go on and continue to make the progress that we've made, steadily, for a hundred and fifty years. We can do it just as well by suspending hostilities during the war.

REPORTER: Senator Taft, one of the biggest men in the government, so big that he wouldn't let himself be quoted, told me that the conservative swing which he believed was occurring in this country was not a tribute to the conservatives but was a tribute to war prosperity and that when the war prosperity collapses, which he thought it would, we would start all over again with another New Deal.

Do you think that the country is really going conservative?

SENATOR TAFT: I don't think you want it to swing back too far. You don't want to have all this fascistic control, which the people resent, throw the people back to a completely laissez faire system, of course. But I think the leaders of both parties today are willing to go forward in a progressive way to attempt to improve conditions which have developed in this country during the last ten or fifteen years. I believe that, whether the Republicans come in or the Democrats stay in, you will have very definite plans to extend social security and to improve other conditions—like the Negro condition to which Krueger has referred.

MR. KRUEGER: But your main point seems to be that all those things have to be postponed until after the war, which I think is going to discourage a great many people not only in the United States but in other parts of the world.

All this seems to flow from your basic position that the United States has gone to war only because she's been attacked. That is your position, isn't it?

SENATOR TAFT: Because she was threatened with attack and felt that in the future she would be threatened with attack again. I believe today that the United States went to war in order that the country might enjoy peace now and in days to come. We didn't go into war against Japan when they attacked China. We didn't go to war with Germany when they attacked Poland or Czechoslovakia. War came only when our people came to believe that aggression was so dangerous and successful and likely to be successful that our own safety was threatened. That led to aid to Britain, and finally it led to war itself.

REPORTER: Senator, do you disagree with Krueger's boss, President Hutchins, who says that if we were agreed that democracy was the only form of government that was fit for human beings, we should impose it on the rest of the world if we could? He thinks we can't, but he doesn't think that we ought to let the rest of the world alone if we could possibly impose what we knew was good for it.

SENATOR TAFT: I don't believe that any war ought to be undertaken as a crusade. If you admit that we should go out and impose our ideas of freedom on all the rest of the world, then we must admit that the Soviets have a right to go out and impose Communism on all the rest of the world. We would then have to admit that Hitler, even though deluded, had the perfect right to go out and try to impose his idea of National Socialism on the rest of the world. I say that a crusade purpose is no proper justification for war; that, no matter what good you might accomplish, it's far outbalanced by the terrific horror, the terrific sacrifices, the terrific damage of war.

MR. KRUEGER: I doubt, Senator, that there is any proper justification for large-scale war; but, once you've got a war on your hands, I don't see why it cannot be used as a method of making some major changes which need to be made—particularly making during the war some of those changes which, if they had been made before the war, would have stopped the development of the war.

REPORTER: Of course, Arthur Krock, the Washington chief of the *New York Times*, whom I talked to, holds that the government's new social security legislation, which was just proposed this week, is a fundamental change. It happens to be one to which he is opposed. He says that it's the "cotton-wool" theory of taking care of everybody and reducing everybody to a dead level of mediocrity.

Senator, does this new social security bill—this extention of social security—represent one of these changes in your mind, and one which we should hold off until after the war?

Senator Taft: The plan is so vague that I don't think it is a specific proposal for legislation. It has none of the clarity or distinctness of the Beveridge Plan, for instance. Yes, I think we should postpone further consideration of the extension of our system, which is still experimental, until after the war.

But the point that I'm trying to make on this crusade business is that, in addition to inviting war and keeping war perpetual throughout the world, I don't believe we can impose the Four Freedoms on other nations. Yes, we can improve conditions. I've said that I think that part of our purpose must be to set up an organization to insure peace, but I don't believe that anybody has ever succeeded in imposing his institutions on other nations and other peoples.

I've been down in Puerto Rico. For forty-five years we've been dealing with Puerto Rico, and we haven't yet succeeded in giving them anything like freedom from want. The New Deal poured a hundred million dollars into the Puerto Rico Development Company in two years. Today there's hardly a sign left of that tremendous expenditure of money.

Mr. Krueger: The same thing is true of Britain in India, where they've tried, for a hundred and fifty years or so, to increase the standard of living of the Indian people, but tried within the limits of a private-profit system, which seems to have made it pretty well impossible, both in Puerto Rico and in India.

I don't think that the Four Freedoms are going to be imposed on people of other parts of the world by war. I don't think you ex-

port any good thing by the war method. But during the war I do think that it would be possible for the United States to get out of the way of people in India, let's say, getting their freedom. I think it would be possible for the government to get out of the way of the Negroes in the United States getting substantial freedom. We don't have to have a moratorium on the very questions out of which the war grew in the first place.

REPORTER: Krueger, you mentioned something that I think ROUND TABLE listeners haven't heard about for a long time, and that is the private-profit system.

I spoke to Donald Nelson in Washington, who told me that the private-profit system—the competitive system—had been temporarily abandoned for a controlled economy; that it wasn't the New Dealers' fault, or anybody else's fault, but that war compelled that. But Mr. Nelson said that he was convinced that we would go back to a private economy and to a free-enterprise system when the war was over and that there would be a lot of interest in doing it throughout the war.

Senator, do you think we'll be able to go back?

SENATOR TAFT: Yes, I think that we'll go back to a private-enterprise system. Both the President and Mr. Wallace today say that we should. We'll have another opportunity to make it work. I think it can be made to work. The big problem, of course, is that of unemployment, whether we can avoid the dangers of depressions. I believe that if the work is undertaken by people who believe in the free-enterprise system, have sympathy with it, instead of those who do not have sympathy with it, as has been the case during the last ten years, we can solve the problem of unemployment.

MR. KRUEGER: But sympathy with the free-enterprise system is

General Objectives

UNITED STATES

I firmly believe that Americans will welcome this opportunity to share in the fight of civilized mankind to preserve decency and dignity in modern life. For this is fundamentally a people's war—and it must be followed by a people's peace. . . . .

We are fighting today for security and progress and for peace, not only for ourselves but for all men, not only for one generation but all generations.

We are fighting, as our fathers have fought, to uphold the doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of God.—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

RUSSIA

Russia's first aim is to free her own territory, and the second aim is to free the enslaved peoples of Europe and then allow them to decide their own fate without any outside interference in their internal affairs. . . . .

Abolition of racial exclusiveness, equality of nations and integrity of their territories, liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights, the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes, economic aid to nations that have suffered and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare, restoration of democratic liberties, the destruction of the Hitlerite regime.—JOSEPH STALIN

GREAT BRITAIN

We are not fighting to preserve the status quo. We are fighting to preserve the possibility of progress.—ANTHONY EDEN

. . . . It has been obvious to all that we are striving to the utmost of our strength for the freedom of nations against the oppressor, and that we are striving for the progress of peoples through the process of self-government and for the creation of that wider brotherhood among men which alone will bring them back to prosperity and peace.—WINSTON CHURCHILL

DO THEY SAY?

'l and Political Aims

rocess of working and fighting for
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nothing but destruction unless we
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and woman who seeks a job.—
. Roosevelt

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such a social order and to choose
of government as it deems oppor-
cessary for the better promotion of
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people, and they inflict annually a
nisery and death. . . . .—Sir Staf-

International Organization

The concept of the United Nations will not perish on the battlefields of this terrible war. It will live to lay the basis of the enduring world understanding on which mankind depends to preserve its peace and its freedom.—Franklin D. Roosevelt

The inflicting of defeat and the attainment of victory cannot be our ultimate aim. United efforts are required also for the final eradication of the Nazi-Fascist tree with its poisoned fruits, for the healing of the wounds suffered by humanity in this bloodthirsty war, for the creation on a new basis of future economic and political international relations. It seems to me that the more easily we can achieve united efforts now, with all participants in the struggle making about equal sacrifices, the more successful will be our united efforts for the organization of the peace—a true peace—based on unity and concord.—Maxim Litvinov

While we were thus engaged in the Far East, we should be sitting with the United States and with our ally Russia and those of the United Nations concerned, shaping the international instruments and national settlements which must be devised if the free life of Europe is ever to rise again, and if the fearful quarrels which have rent European civilization are to be prevented from once more disturbing the progress of the world.—Winston Churchill

not enough to solve the problem. The New Deal had sympathy with the free-enterprise system all the way along, and the New Deal, I think, did not solve the unemployment problem. Rather the war lifted the unemployment problem off the doorstep of the New Deal.

SENATOR TAFT: In my opinion, the New Deal did not. The real New Dealers favor a form of socialism.

MR. KRUEGER: I think that's a little bit exaggerated. I don't think Jesse Jones and the rest of those boys really favor it.

SENATOR TAFT: Jesse Jones is no New Dealer.

REPORTER: Harold Moulton, the head of the Brookings Institution, whom I reckon you'd call a conservative, Senator, asserts that he doesn't believe that the Administration or Congress or the country is interested in doing away with private enterprise and that private enterprise is stronger than ever in American today.

SENATOR TAFT: I think that that's true, but if they don't, after a reasonable time hereafter, solve this problem of ten million men out of work, it may not be so popular as it is today.

MR. KRUEGER: I think that people don't care whether we have a free-enterprise system or some other kind of a system. What people want is jobs, and they want security, and they want peace.

But on that unemployment question I get a little bothered when I see in the current issue of *Click* magazine, Senator, that you have an article in which you say that the Republican party "proposes" to work out the best possible solution of the problem of unemployment.[2] I'm in favor of the best possible solution of the problem of

[2] Robert A. Taft, "I Believe," *Click*, April, 1943.

employment, but it seems to me rather odd that after fourteen years of depression, since 1929, we're still in a stage where we have to "propose" to work out the problem. We've had a moratorium on that issue for altogether too long now.

SENATOR TAFT: The New Dealers have been in power the last ten years of that time, and their only solution for the problem is more government spending. I don't think that ever will be the solution, and I think only the Republicans will adopt any other.

REPORTER: But, Senator, I've talked to a great many soldiers on this trip—a great many soldiers. There are going to be some ten or fifteen million of them, I understand, coming back after the war; and I must say that without a single exception when I asked them about their idea of a post-war America they thought of an America in which there were jobs. When I asked them what they would advocate if there were no jobs to be had, they said that they thought the government would have to provide for them.

So that if the conservatives are in power, won't we have to have a great deal more government spending than ever in order to feed and keep all those men at work?

SENATOR TAFT: Not at all. I think that a proper consideration and operation of the private-enterprise system will provide jobs and is the only way in which jobs can be provided.

I'd like, Mr. Reporter, to get back for a moment to the main question of what this war is being fought for. It seems obvious to me that the war is a conservative war, that it's a war which is intended to develop a plan by which all nations may enjoy peace. I don't believe that it's a war to fight for the Four Freedoms. The Atlantic Charter itself recognizes the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live. We have dictators

on our side—Stalin, Chiang Kai-shek, Vargas in Brazil—it's not a war for democracy. It's a war to insure freedom for any nation that wishes to secure freedom.

MR. KRUEGER: I think that's a frank statement of the case. Certainly all the angels aren't on one side and all the devils aren't on the other side.

But if we try to go through this war assuming that thirteen million Negroes in the United States are going to wait until after it's over, and three hundred and seventy million Indians are going to wait until after it's over, and all the other people who really want extensions of their freedom are going to wait until after the war is over, then I think we're going to find that millions of people throughout this country and the rest of the world are going to be saying that it won't make enough difference which way the war comes out. If you're going to really put some pressure behind the improvement of the conditions out of which the war grew, now is the time to do it and not later.

REPORTER: Senator Taft, you're one of the men who are running this country; and Krueger, you're one of the professors who I understand are *really* running this country. Between the two of you, you ought to have given the ROUND TABLE listeners something to ponder.

The two of you agree, I take it, that this is a conservative war that it is, in fact, being fought to preserve, protect, and defend rather than to change and to innovate and to reform.

You, Senator Taft, think, however, that it should be a conservative war as well as that it is one; that every war should be a conservative war to defend; that we can't change the world by war and that there should be a moratorium on controversy so that we can win the war and then resume the controversy when it's over

While you, Krueger, on the other hand, seem to feel that we must fight a war for change, and that if we try to hold what we have, in Mr. Churchill's words, we will lose it.

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If your transcript is a bit tardy, please wait until you are reasonably sure that it has been lost before writing us.

Thank you

More on This Topic

BROCK, H. I., "Freedom from the Axis First," *New York Times Magazine*, March 7, 1943. *A reply to Pearl Buck.*

BUCK, PEARL S., "Freedom To Be Free," *New York Times Magazine*, February 28, 1943. *States that this war must extend freedom to be free throughout the world.*

DOWNEY, J. O., "America in the Postwar World," *Current History*, July, 1942. *Argues for American-British domination of the world.*

KOESTLER, ARTHUR, "A Challenge to 'Knights in Rusty Armor,'" *New York Times Magazine*, February 14, 1943. *Claims that it is a conservative war and will be a conservative peace.*

LOCKE, FRANCIS P., "Retreat from the Four Freedoms?" *Free World*, March, 1943. *Cites recent events to prove the trend is toward conservatism in foreign policy.*

"Our Official Postwar Line," *Fortune*, March, 1943. *Reviews the stated policy of the United States government.*

SMITH, KINGSBURY, "Our Government's Case for Expediency," *American Mercury*, February, 1943. *Says that the war policy of the United States government is to win as cheaply and quickly as possible and that the time to seek support for the Four Freedoms is after victory has been won.*

WALLACE, HENRY A., "What We Will Get Out of the War," *American*, March, 1943.

WEST, GEORGE P., "Mr. Roosevelt's Supreme Test," *New Republic*, February 8, 1943. *Argues that a policy of domestic political unity results in the victory of conservatism.*

WILLKIE, WENDELL, "Accord Needed Now," *Vital Speeches*, December 15, 1942. *Says that United Nations and American people should agree now on war aims.*

What Do *You* Think?

1. In your opinion is this a conservative war? Why or why not? Do you agree with the analysis of Senator Taft and Mr. Krueger that the war is "being fought to preserve, protect, and defend rather than to change and to innovate and to reform"?

2. Do you agree with Senator Taft that this war should be a conservative war? What are the arguments against making the war a crusade for the Four Freedoms?

3. Do you approve of the so-called "deals" with Darlan, Peyrouton, and Franco if it saves lives and aids in winning an immediate military victory? Should the United States follow the British lead on the Indian question? Do you favor "subordinating everything to military considerations"?

4. Does the United States government now have any declared official policy on war aims? In your opinion what should be the long-run objectives of the foreign policy of the United States?

5. Do you think New Dealers are running the war? Or are big-business representatives running the war? Or both? Do "the real New Dealers favor a form of socialism"?

6. Do you agree with Mr. Krueger that we run the danger of losing the war and the peace if we do not make immediate changes and reforms? How does a conservative war affect the peace to come?

The People Say . . . .

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "Bigger and Better Taxes?" broadcast March 7, 1943.*

*

Favor English System?

. . . . I thought that broadcast was the best I have ever heard on the series. I wonder if the participants would not favor an income tax collected monthly at the source as the English tax. In fact, would they not prefer the whole English fiscal system to ours?—*A listener from Watertown, Connecticut*

*

Withhold in Lower Brackets

. . . . I believe that people with incomes above a certain level (say $20,000, or even less) save CURRENTLY for their taxes to be paid in the next year. To turn the tax clock ahead one year would simply give these people a huge bonus—which *might* partially be recaptured in higher estate taxes, but not if this money is spent before the person dies. It seems that, as regards the lower income brackets, 1942 taxes should be skipped and 1943 should start as soon as possible with a withholding tax at least for normal and first surtax at greatly increased rates. . . . . *A listener from Roxbury, Massachusetts*

Real Incomes Lower

. . . . Do those pirouetting economists comprehend at all the fact that there are in this Land of the Free millions of wage- and salary-earners whose real incomes are lower now than they have been in many years? It is the writer's misfortune to be a member of the white-collar middle class—so called because when the squeeze is applied they are always in the middle. Many of us are without jobs, a good number are in debt through no scandalous improvidence but because not all of us can make the happy adaptations about which the personnel specialists so glibly rationalize. An honest sampling would show that a remarkably large contingent have no savings to amount to anything.

No, even the mildest of the proposals for higher tax schedules made this afternoon will mean for a great throng of this country's loyal and decent citizens not hardship merely but bitter and desperate disaster.—*A listener from Brooklyn, New York*

*

Need Economy

. . . . If the government would

practice economy, there would be no need for higher taxes. For instance, we are told by persons who know that 74,000 desks were recently purchased for the aviation department. What in the name of heaven does the aviation department want with 74,000 desks? May I suggest that you discuss government economy and let your hearers know the amount of money that could be saved in this way?—*A listener from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

*

Fewer Bureaus

I have just heard the ROUND TABLE discussion on the subject of bigger and better taxes and think the matter was ably and fairly handled. I was, however, disappointed to find that all three participants accepted without question the government demand for many more billions than the present form of taxation is expected to provide. Undoubtedly we may need more revenue, but the assumption that the income tax should be doubled, which they all seemed to accept, I think should be disputed. How about the government helping by trying to save money? A discussion on the subject of fewer and better bureaus would be wholesome and timely. . . . .—*A listener from Kansas City, Missouri*

*

Equitable Distribution

. . . . We with FIXED salaries have no objection to paying a larger tax provided the total tax is equitably distributed according to ability to pay. Full-page advertisements in national magazines of corporations with nothing to advertise but their names is but one small piece of evidence that they could afford to give a larger share of their war profits for the prosecution of the war. . . . .—*A listener from Chicago, Illinois*

*

Have To Collect from Everyone

. . . . I do not live in a district where we have much defense work and do not enjoy the privilege as they do in the larger cities of making the high wages, but it is just my idea that the government will have to collect more taxes from everybody, both the fellow in the lower brackets as well as the higher.

There just must be more money raised if inflation is to be held down.—*A listener from Barnesville, Ohio*

*

Want a Way To Pay

I disagree with you on the Ruml Plan and wish to express the fact that people are not interested so much in skipping a year's taxation as they are in devising an easier plan of payment. With taxes rising as they are, people are finding it increasingly hard to meet their taxes. I see no difference whether we pay taxes on 1942 or 1943 income, as long as we pay taxes. Certainly we must devise some plan to pay the taxes; people can't pay several hundred dollars taxes in quarterly payments if they haven't got it to pay. . . . .—*A listener from Canton, Ohio*

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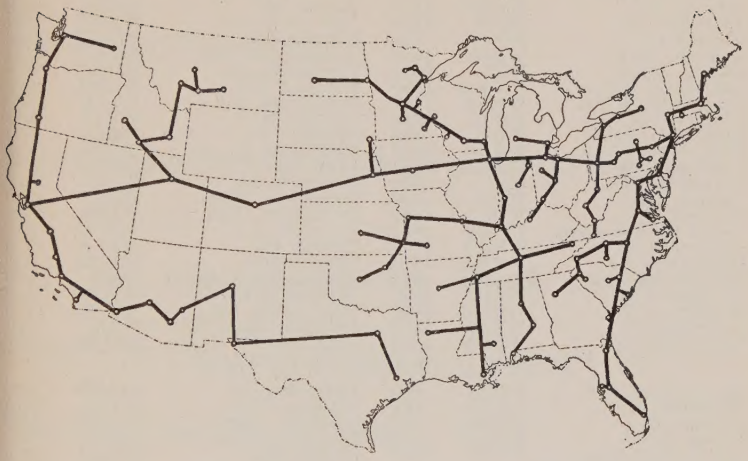

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Hear the ROUND TABLE *discussions.*

*

Consult the following page for the ROUND TABLE stations

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2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	1350

1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
			Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920			

12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1030	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590

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			Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810

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A University of Chicago Round Table Broadcast

MARCH 21, 1943

Education for Freedom

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Introduction by:

ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, President, University of Chicago

Participants:

COMMANDER ALVIN C. EURICH, Director, Navy Collegiate Program

RICHARD P. McKEON, Department of Philosophy; Dean, Division of Humanities

RALPH W. TYLER, Department of Education, University of Chicago

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